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Roosevelt or Willkie—
Tweedledum or Tweedledee?

The Collapse of French "Democracy"

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Marching to Totalitarianism

The Price of Patriotism!

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The Collapse of French "Democracy"

The defeat of France and its emergence as a full-fledged Fascist nation raises anew the question: Who fights Fascism?

When the Second World War began last September, French Imperialism joined British Imperialism in proclaiming the war to be a holy crusade of "Democracy" against Fascism.

HOW FRANCE "FOUGHT" FASCISM

But even before the first shot was fired, France had already established a totalitarian regime, by decree of the Daladier Ministry, which crushed all opposition and wiped out all social gains made during the past three years. All strikes were forbidden and civil rights were relegated to the background where they were not abolished outright.

The anomaly of a totalitarian regime claiming to fight for the preservation of "Democracy" did not at all faze the liberal muddle heads and the socialist renegades, who were busily explaining that this was not just another Imperialist war between rival camps of Imperialist bandits. This war, they said, was different! Allied Imperialism was really determined to destroy Hitlerism; between the two camps, Allied Imperialism was by far the "lesser evil." Moreover, it was necessary to fight fire with fire, and the French totalitarian regime was merely a passing phase, made necessary by the requirements of totalitarian war, which would disappear as soon as Hitler was crushed. A pretty tale, indeed!

In France as in Great Britain and as is now happening in the United States, the workers were prevailed upon to sacrifice their class interests and their existing standards in the name of "National Unity" and "National Defense." Believing that these objectives were essential for the defeat of Hitlerism, the French workers cheerfully submitted to the sacrifices demanded and placed themselves under the leadership of the French capitalist class.

This wholehearted co-operation of the French workers in the defense of bourgeois France has now borne fruit in the form of fascist enslavement under the regime of Laval-Petain.

FRENCH BOSSES PREFER HITLER

How explain this debacle to the French people and to the working class of the world?

Certain capitalist apologists, in a lame effort to whitewash the French capitulators, would have the world believe that it was military necessity that compelled the surrender of France to Hitler. But, had French capitalism been sincere in its alleged opposition to Fascism, it could easily have continued the war, despite a military defeat in France. The Reynaud Cabinet had previously announced that under no circumstances would France sue for peace, but if necessary would move the government to the African colonies and continue the struggle from there. There was nothing to prevent the French from carrying out this pledge. The Allied navies were undisputed masters of the seas, the French air force remained intact and ample financial resources were available to carry on.

But the French ruling class, facing the humiliation of defeat and dreading the day of reckoning at the hands of an aroused working class which was beginning to become aware of its betrayal, forgot all about its pledges to battle to the bitter end for "Democracy." Faced with the alternatives of Fascism or a possible working class revolution, French capitalism showed not the slightest hesitation in capitulating to Hitler.

"IT MUST NOT COME TO THAT"

Elie J. Bois, former editor of *Le Petit Parisien*, reveals that it was General Maxim Weygand himself who led the movement for surrender. Before the Reynaud Cabinet he enumerated the military difficulties of the French army and "then, referring to the Russian debacle of 1917 and the Soviet revolution which followed, he said: 'We must not let it come to that'." Emphasizing this point, Weygand invented out of the whole cloth the spectre of a Communist revolt in Paris in order to frighten the cabinet into submission to Hitler. Even then Reynaud was opposed to the proposal, but could not stand up before the pressure of the capitalist class behind Weygand. His resignation, the appointment of the Petain-Laval Cabinet and

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Editorials . . .

ROOSEVELT OR WILLKIE— Tweedledum or Tweedledee?

Despite all the sound and fury and all the bitter invectives with which the air will be filled in the months before November's election, the candidates of capitalism's rival party aspirants for control of the government machinery have no basic political differences.

In principle, President Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie are as alike as two peas in a pod. A vote for either candidate is equally a vote to perpetuate the decadent capitalist system and to continue the country's march toward the twin horrors of war and Fascism.

The outcome of the election, whether President Roosevelt is victorious or whether he be defeated, will not make an iota of difference in the war policies and "defense" preparations of the United States Government. It was Willkie's pronounced acceptance of the Roosevelt war policies, as contrasted to the pussyfooting position of his rivals for the Republican nomination, that was mainly responsible for his nomination. On questions of foreign policy there is true "National Unity" between the Republican and the Democratic candidates.

The same basic agreement prevails on domestic policies, despite the determined attempts of Roosevelt to confuse the issues in his efforts to hold on to the reins of power. The President is attempting to capitalize on his reputation as an alleged friend of the "comman man" as expressed in his eight years of the New Deal. On the other hand, so manifest is the bankruptcy of this same New Deal as a solution for the ills of capitalism, that Roosevelt has abandoned it as the dominant campaign issue, and is trying to divert attention from its failure by intensifying the war hysteria and the drive for "National Unity."

Nor is the opposition innocent of attempts to confuse the issues. The Republicans and the new Deal renegades who stress the "Third Term Dictatorship" slogan against their rival are themselves attempting to deceive the workers. They are *not* opposed to dictatorship and will not hesitate a moment to clamp down an iron Fascist rule over the country as soon as the interests of capitalism demand it. In fact, under cover of the fake "National Unity" slogan, these gentlemen are, even now, together with President Roosevelt, busily engaged in laying the ground for totalitarianism in the United States. The third term issue is a fraud, manufactured solely for purposes of political expediency.

As to the personalities of the rival capitalist candidates, Roosevelt is billed as a great humanitarian, father of the New Deal and a "real progressive." Willkie, by contrast, comes directly from the camp of reactionary top-capitalism in Wall Street, a tool of the "Big Interests" if there ever was one. Despite these drawbacks, Willkie regards himself as a "liberal" business man who subscribes to the principles of the New Deal's social legislation and rejects the label of "reactionary."

A Wall Street candidate as a plumed knight of 'liberalism"—a political anomaly by all the usual standards of American politics, but not unknown to history. The G. O. P. has merely been a little too old-fashioned and slow heretofore to adapt itself to changing conditions. In Great Britain the top-capitalist politicians of the Conservative Party understand these things much better. Long before Roosevelt ever dreamt of a New Deal the Tories had launched a widespread system of social services similar to those later proposed by Roosevelt. The economic royalists of Great Britain realized that social reform is the surest means of killing the revolutionary instincts of the working class. Moreover, such measures have a temporary value to capitalism of "stabilizing" condi-

tions—that is, in dividing and more or less equalizing the misery of the workers.

By launching the New Deal at a moment of extreme crisis for American capitalism, Roosevelt demonstrated his superior political acumen over the leadership of the hidebound Republican Party, which was drifting with capitalism to chaos. Under the leadership of the "liberal" Willkie, however, the G. O. P. gives evidence that it is again abreast of the times and that it is now prepared intelligently to steer the ship of state in the basic interests of the capitalist class which both parties serve.

In this campaign the working class once again is serving as the tail to capitalism's kite. No sign of realization of the need for independent working class political action on the part of the workers is visible. Yet that course is the only way by which the country can escape the fate for which it is heading—war and Fascism!

No capitalist government, no matter which politician is at its head, can prevent these catastrophes. In fact, no capitalist government, under the present circumstances, is in the least interested in preventing them. War is the only means by which American capitalism can halt the depredations of its imperialist rival, German. Fascism is the only way by which that war can be waged. That is why a vote for either capitalist candidate is a vote for the destruction of all of labor's rights, a vote for working class suicide.

There is only one basic issue before the working class in the present campaign! Either the triumph of Socialism with its promise of peace, security and abundance by the abolition of the greedy, power-mad capitalist class, or the triumph of capitalism, with its twin horrors of war and Fascism and its promise of greater misery and insecurity for all.

A vote for either candidate of capitalism is a vote for chaos and destruction. If civilization is to be preserved, the workers must heed the warning and act in their own behalf!

Conscription—Prelude to Fascism

"After conscription, what is left to put the nation on a totalitarian basis? Nothing, except to pull the trigger!"—Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan.

Under the guise of establishing "democratic" universal military service, the machinery for the complete regimentation of the working class is being set up by Congress.

The Burke-Wadsworth Bill, which is being debated in committees of both Houses as this is written, has been widely and favorably publicized by the capitalist press as a peacetime measure to train an adequate military force for defense purposes. The provisions of the bill, it is true enough, do call for the drafting and training of a force of only 1,500,000 men, but its significance goes far beyond this purely military aspect.

As originally drawn, the bill called for the registration of all males between the ages of 18 and 64. Under the deferred classifications set up, only a small portion of the 42,000,000 who would have been compelled to register would actually have been called upon to perform active military service. Nevertheless, all would have become subject to military discipline and control. Only widespread protests from every section of the country compelled the reactionary politicians to soften the effects of this far-reaching proposal, by reducing the age limits to males between 21 and 31. This concession, however, can only be looked upon as a temporary one, until the war hysteria can again be roused to the fever heat which accompanied the Nazi invasion of Holland, Belgium and France in June.

M-PLAN IN PEACE TIME

The War Department estimates that the age classification 21-31 years, contains 12,000,000 potential recruits for the army. Even the most lavish estimates do not place the personnel needs of a peace-time army at more than 2 million men. So it can readily be seen that the original proposal to register 42,000,000 people was not dictated by any military or "defense" needs. The capitalist politicians and the military clique behind them,

who are attempting to railroad the Burke-Wadsworth Bill through with the blessings of the Roosevelt administration, have other, more sinister motives.

What they are attempting to put over, under the fine-sounding slogan of "democratic" universal military service, is nothing less than TOTALITARIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP OVER THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS. The growing volume of opposition has compelled them to step a little more cautiously than they originally planned. By compelling all males within the age limits of 18 to 64 years to register for some form of military service, either active or deferred, the entire working class would have been placed under the direct jurisdiction and control of the top military oligarchy. In short, the Burke-Wadsworth Bill as originally presented to Congress was the first move to put into effect the infamous M-Plan for setting up a totalitarian military dictatorship in the United States in the event of war—except that the politicians are no longer bothering to wait for the war!

CONSCRIPTION—"INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS"

The temporary setback suffered by the proponents of this totalitarian measure will not stop their efforts to enlarge its scope again in the very near future. For they understand full well that it is the smoothest and most effective method of regimenting and hog-tieing the working class under the domination of the capitalist government. Walter Lippmann, one of the suavest and most polished servitors of capitalism, revealed the deep necessity which is driving this "Democratic" nation to adopt the methods of Hitler and Mussolini:

"Under modern conditions as they apply to this country, the number of men needed behind the lines is about twenty-five to one as compared with the number who can or should actually be used in the fighting services. The construction of the new navy and of the new air force and of the equipment for an army of a million men is a stupendous industrial operation, and conscription would be worse than useless if it were not organized with the clear purpose of carrying out this industrial operation.

"The great value of conscription is that, if properly administered, it will serve this purpose. The volunteer system will not. . . .

"If therefore, the conscription bill is to serve its real purpose, it must not be regarded as a mere device for putting one man out of twenty-five into uniform. It must be regarded as a method of mobilizing the men of the country for the much larger and more complicated task of industrial preparedness." —*New York Herald Tribune,* July 27, 1940.

In plain language, Mr. Lippmann is telling us that *modern war can only be successfully waged on a totalitarian basis,* and therefore the enslavement of labor under military dictatorship is the first requisite. Senator Vandenberg was quite correct when he made the statement cited at the head of this article: "After conscription, what is left to put the nation on a totalitarian basis? Nothing, except to pull the trigger!"

CONSCRIPTION ENSLAVES LABOR

The workers are told that conscription is a necessary evil in a world of triumphant Fascism, an unavoidable price that must be paid to "preserve our cherished liberty." But those who heed such arguments forget that conscription in any form is the surest method of destroying the independence of the workers and placing them at the mercy of the fascist reactionaries *within* the country.

Remember the lesson of France. The French workers gave their rulers a blank check to proceed without hindrance with the "National Defense." The capitalist government lost no time in breaking up or gagging the independant organs of the workers, and in subjecting them to military control. Thus, when the ruling class decided to capitulate to Hitler, in the name of "National Unity," the workers, who had allowed themselves to be duped by the fine anti-Fascist phrases of the treacherous bourgeoisie, were compelled to stand helplessly by while the erstwhile "democrats" proclaimed outright Fascism in France.

MILITARY CASTE—LABOR'S ENEMY

It is no accident that the French military caste was in the forefront of all these maneuvers. Traditionally, by training, and by class inclination, the professional militarists are enemies of labor and of democracy. Their first loyalty is to the defense of private property and the interests of the property-owning class. They never hesitate to betray

even their own fatherland to help the rulers preserve their privileges. Witness the experience of "Democratic" Norway, Belgium and Holland, where the army generals and officers opened the way to Hitler's forces. In Spain it was the army which led the revolt against the democratically-elected Popular Front government and called in Hitler and Mussolini to butcher their fellow countrymen!

For the workers to allow themselves to fall into the clutches of the Brass Hats is to say farewell to democratic rights and independent organization!

HOW TO FIGHT CONSCRIPTION

The Socialist Union Party opposes conscription in any form, not because we are indifferent to the defense of the nation, but because that defense cannot be entrusted to the capitalist class, its government or its military forces. The workers will succeed only in strengthening the power of the ruling class over themselves if they submit without protest to this fascist measure. Remember the price paid by our brother-workers in Europe, because they failed to heed the lessons of history!

The opposition to the conscription bill has up to this time been more or less sporadic and scattered, even though it has come from wide sections of the American people. The chief organized opposition has been voiced by pacifist liberals and reformist Socialists of the Norman Thomas breed. Working class organizations everywhere, particularly the trade union movement, must take up the struggle against this first step to fascism by wholesale organized protests. Only a resolute upsurge of working class resentment against the conscription bill will deter the politicians from their expressed intention to rush it through.

SOCIALISM—THE ONLY DEFENSE

Whether the Burke-Wadsworth Bill goes through at the present time, or whether it is killed by the opposition of the workers, the needs of capitalism still require that sooner or later the entire nation be put on a totalitarian basis to carry on the struggle against the rival fascists of Germany, Italy and Japan for economic domination over the trade of the world. The working class is the only force which can defeat this inevitable enslavement of the nation—by organizing its might to overthrow the decaying capitalist system which breeds fascism and war. Only a social revolution can save the world from the disaster which impends.

Once the capitalist class is overthrown, the workers will have something really worthwhile to defend—their own socialized economy, real democracy, the means for assuring abundance for all. They will need no conscription to compel them to fight for these blessings, for they will no longer be asked to shed their blood for the profits of capitalist imperialism. Then the defense of Socialist America against Fascism will be a task for which every worker will be glad to make every sacrifice.

Organize for a Socialist World!

Betraying Labor for Fake Unity

The capitalist confidence game of using the pretext of "National Defense" to break the militancy of labor and to whittle down existing labor standards has already cost the working class dearly. Working together smoothly with their labor faker lieutenants in the leadership of the trade union movement, the exploiters have managed to cover their larceny with fine phrases and to prepare the way for even greater rookings to come.

PROFITS FOR BOSSES— SACRIFICES FOR LABOR

The case of the aluminum workers is a vivid portrait of the betrayers of labor in action. Here the men were not actually on strike, but the membership had instructed their officials to call a strike if their demand for an increase of 10c per hour was not granted. In the two-year period, 1937-39, the Aluminum Company of America, which has a virtual monopoly of the indispensable

war material, had piled up the enormous total net profits of $78,000,000. With a tremendous backlog of war orders, the 1940 profits bid fair to run well in excess of this mark. The workers were determined not to wait any longer for satisfaction of their moderate demands, in view of the tremendous war profits the company is raking in.

Presenting the workers' demands, the union officials were answered by the corporation with a counter offer of a 2c per hour increase. The leadership, fearful of adverse "popular" feeling if a strike were called, agreed to the company's terms. N. A. Zonarich, the union President, announced that "We are asking our members to make a real sacrifice in cutting their fair and just demands to one-fifth, but I count on their genuine eagerness to help with the national defense."

NON-WAR LABOR ALSO ROOKED

The capitalist exploiters and their labor lieutenants play no favorites when it comes to calling upon the workers for sacrifices. The 35,000 New York cloak and suit operators, certainly by no stretch of the imagination engaged in producing war materials, ran smack into "National Unity" and "National Defense" when their agreement with the clothing manufacturers came up for renewal in July. A breakdown of negotiations resulted in a two-day stoppage. Immediately, up rode Governor Lehman to the rescue on a patriotic white horse; the stoppage was quickly settled and the workers returned to their machines.

The role played by David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was typical of the way in which the leadership of American labor everywhere is helping the capitalist class beat down the workers. According to the *New York Times,* "Mr. Dubinsky said the union kept uppermost in its mind Governor Lehman's admonition that in these perilous times when national defense is the paramount problem of our country, both labor and industry must co-operate for the general welfare. The union made no proposals for increase in wages or shortening of the work week, Mr. Dubinsky declared. Instead it sought agreement on measures demanded to insure greater order and stability in the industry."

These unselfish and patriotic sentiments of Mr. Dubinsky were undoubtedly applauded to the echo in Wall Street and in the garment manufacturers' associations, but unfortunately they butter no bread for Mr. Dubinsky's rank and file garment workers. The cloak and suit industry is notoriously seasonal and operates with an unusually large proportion of unemployed. A shorter work week is the only means by which this situation within the union can in any way be allievated or spread out, even though the relief afforded is temporary. Higher wages are the only way in which the steadily rising cost of living brought about by the war crisis can be met. Mr. Dubinsky, however, like a true "patriot" of the Wall Street variety, is prepared to have his membership forego these demands and make every sacrifice on behalf of capitalist "National Unity" while opposing their attempts to prevent the war's burdens from falling solely on themselves.

LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY

While the labor fakers are busily engaged in sacrificing the hard-won gains of the labor movement, their fellow "patriots," the employers, are showing no eagerness whatsoever in following suit and sacrificing some of their privileges. According to these gentlemen, sacrifice is a wonderful thing—for the workers. In the factories, the mines and the mills, the merciless exploitation of labor continues, with the capitalists reaping larger and larger profits.

The sellouts of the Kearny shipyard workers (reported in our last issue), the aluminum workers and the garment workers are only a small indication of what the workers throughout the country can expect from the leadership of the C. I. O. and the A. F. L. in the present period of war crisis and for a long time to come. From now on the workers will have to contend not only with the opposition of their employers and the capitalist government, but also with the fifth column activities of their own officials.

But treachery and sellouts come natural to labor fakers, whose role has always been that of lieutenants of capitalism in the ranks of the workers. In the final analysis it is the apathy and unconcern of the rank and file itself which make betrayal possible. The workers accept the fraud and the camouflage of slogans like "National Defense" as solid

coin, thus giving the fakers a handle with which to break their militancy and to browbeat them into strikebreaking settlements.

CAPITALISM — NOT HITLER — MAIN ENEMY

The wily capitalists and their labor lieutenants, by persuading the workers to believe that the selfish interests of the profiteers and the war mongers are identical with the interests of the nation as a whole, are able to paralyze the mind and the arms of labor. The workers must shake off this illusion. Their main enemy is not in Europe. It is not Hitler who is militarizing the country! It is not Hitler who proclaims that labor standards must be sacrificed, that wages must remain stationary, in the name of "National Unity!" It is not Hitler who denounces American workers as traitors because they dare to strike for a few cents increase per hour in wages, out of the fabulous profits which the war is bringing their employers! It is not Hitler who is preparing to regiment and hogtie American labor and is waging a vicious campaign against civil liberties!

The welfare and the safety of this country, and of the overwhelming mass of people who inhabit it, demand that capitalism be destroyed, before it destroys humanity and civilization!

Fellow workers, do not surrender your hard-won rights for false slogans! Cast out of your ranks the fifth columnist agents of capitalism, the labor fakers! Turn your faces forward, toward the overthrow of exploitation and class rule, toward a society where satisfying the needs of the people and not guaranteeing the profits of the few is the real motive in life. Organize your invincible power on the political and the industrial fields for emancipation, for peace, for security and for abundance!

Marching to Totalitarianism

Can the American workers escape the horrors of fascist enslavement? Even the most rabid apologists for capitalism no longer seriously deny the danger that a complete totalitarian regime will hold the United States in its clutches once this country enters the present war. But what if the war in Europe should be ended by a Hitler victory before the United States can become formally involved? Will that put an end to the threat of dictatorship? BY NO MEANS!

NO PEACE UNDER CAPITALISM

"Peace" brought about by a Hitler victory will only mean a brief armed truce while American and German capitalism complete their preparations for an even more gigantic and horrible imperialist conflict than the world has yet witnessed. There will be, there can be, no let-up in this struggle for survival and world domination. Profiting by the lessons of Hitler's victory, the American capitalists realize that they can hope to defeat their German rivals only if they too can subjugate their workers. Hence the hysterical campaign being waged under the slogans of "National Defense" and "National Unity," under cover of which one after another of workers' civil liberties are rapidly being destroyed and workers' standards lowered.

The first step on the march to fascism was the blitzkrieg directed against the civil rights of non-citizens, beginning with the passage by Congress of the Smith Omnibus Bill, under the provisions of which aliens are compelled to register and be fingerprinted, and are subjected to the supervision of the Department of Justice. This same Smith Bill, when it came before the House originally (before the successes of Hitler's blitzkrieg threw the capitalist class into a panic) was denounced by the conservative press as an assault on civil liberties, "an attempt to break the labor movement," and as "just the type of law on which Hitler rose to power." But now that the sacred interests of American capitalism (i.e., its profits, privileges and power) are threatened, this Hitlerian law becomes an indispensable part of "our" National Defense!

IMPORT HITLER'S TACTICS

The campaign to establish a totalitarian regime within our midst in the name of

"National Defense" takes on many forms and operates on the economic as well as on the political field. An important move in this direction is the attempt to ostracize from industry all militant workers, regardless of their political affiliations, who refuse to be hoodwinked by the false slogans of the jingo politicians and who dare to speak out for labor's rights and against capitalist exploitation and the imperialist mass murder that it breeds.

Here, as elsewhere, the architects of American totalitarianism dare not tip their hand by divulging their real aims. They endeavor to cover up their attack on labor's rights by borrowing another of Hitler's tactics and making the unpopular Nazi Bundists and Communists the ostensible butt of their moves. When Hitler was first elevated to power by Von Hindenburg, his first maneuver was to oust the Communist deputies from the Reichstag, with the sanction of every other party. Once rid of this minority, he turned his attention to the Social Democrats who had just voted as he wished, and outlawed them with the aid of all the remaining political groups. By these "legal" tricks, every opposing political group in turn was destroyed.

ECONOMIC OSTRACISM

The game American capitalism is playing today is exactly the same. The current Relief Appropriations Act, recently signed by President Roosevelt, prohibits the employment of any Communist, Nazi or anyone who "advocates or belongs to an organization that advocates the overthrow of the government."

Thus once more the grim lesson is borne home: the attacks of today on the aliens and the "reds" are only the preludes to the attack of tomorrow on all labor. Tomorrow the militant worker in private industry will become suspect also. Tomorrow "responsible" citizen stool-pigeons will be called upon to report on all "subversive" elements in private industry, and the scabs and strikebreakers will have a field day in reporting loyal trade unionists as dangerous reds. Tomorrow trade union militants will be told to "keep your trap shut," work like slaves, and accept worse conditions of labor, so that the capitalist class may be guaranteed profits and security, all in the name of "National Unity" and "National Defense!" If they refuse, the penalty will be economic ostracism, if not worse! And that tomorrow is not far off.

MOB VIOLENCE UNCHECKED

Another manifestation of the steady march to totalitarianism has been the growing and unchecked wave of mob violence against the holders of unpopular, minority opinions. The most conspicuous sufferers from this particular fascist trend, even though by no means the only victims, have been the members of the pacifist religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses. Because of religious scruples, the members of this sect oppose all war on principle, and refuse to salute any flag, considering loyalty to a material power as an infringement on their higher loyalty to God. In the course of their anti-war activity and because of their refusal to salute the flag, members of this inoffensive sect have been subjected to every conceivable brutality in every section of the country, with the connivance of local authorities. They have been set upon, brutally assaulted and tarred and feathered; their property has been wantonly destroyed and their homes burned—all in the name of patriotism!

Freedom of religious conscience has at all times been a boasted American possession, zealously guarded by constitutional protection and Supreme Court pronouncements since the foundation of the American republic. But the pressure of the war danger to the interests of capitalism overcomes all considerations of abstract "rights"—the main concern of capitalism is to line up the entire nation to protect its interests—and woe to any dissenters. Not even the Supreme Court is immune to this universal panic of the ruling class. Those naive souls who look upon the Supreme Court as a bulwark of constitutional liberties, which can be depended upon to withstand the pressure of outside forces and protect unpopular minorities in the exercise of their civil liberties have been bitterly disillusioned by the Court's decision in the flag-saluting cases.

SCUTTLING CONSTITUTION

Appealed to by members of Jehovah's Witnesses whose children had been expelled from schools for refusal to salute the American flag, the Supreme Court refused to reverse the decisions, and proclaimed that the interests of "National Unity" (meaning of course, the security of capitalism) were para-

mount to all other considerations and took precedence over the constitutional guarantees of freedom of worship. In other words, whenever the exercise of any civil right guaranteed by the constitution endangers the privileges and power of the capitalist class, it becomes so much excess baggage to be thrown overboard.

Significantly enough, the opinion of the Supreme Court scuttling freedom of conscience was written by the fair-haired hope of the liberals and New Deal supporters, Felix Frankfurter. But the decision of the Supreme Court came as no surprise to those class-conscious workers who have seen over and over again how the capitalist state, of which the Court is an integral part, always acts to protect the selfish class interests and profits of capitalism, even to the destruction if need be of the very constitutional liberties it has solemnly sworn to uphold and protect.

ORGANIZE TO DESTROY FASCISM

It should now be abundantly clear even to the most skeptical, that the danger of an American totalitarianism does not lie in the distant future. THE MARCH TO DICTATORSHIP IS TAKING PLACE NOW, BEFORE OUR VERY EYES. Only the American working class, organizing and unifying its ranks for the purpose of destroying capitalism itself, is capable of preventing the victory of Fascism. Unless American labor breaks with the false capitalist "National Unity" and "National Defense" policies it is now following and proceeds forward on the task of establishing the Socialist Republic, it will be swallowed up by a new dark age of Fascist-Capitalist barbarism.

The Price of Patriotism!

With each passing day the real character of the capitalist class and the administration at Washington which protects its interests with respect to the total war for which they are preparing are being made clearer and clearer. So is their attitude toward the workers who are to serve as the cannon fodder and the work horses. The role of the capitalist state as subjecter of the workers has never been more strikingly manifested than in the present period.

WORKERS' PATRIOTISM—AT $5.00 PER MONTH

Testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, which was holding hearings on the pending Burke-Wadsworth Bill for universal military conscription, Colonel Julius Ochs Adler, Vice-President of the *New York Times*, heatedly supported a provision to limit the salary of conscripts to $5.00 per month. When Senator Downey of California, a member of the committee, expressed the opinion that such a trifling allowance would hardly be conducive to the highest morale and that since the conscripts would be called upon to perform highly expert mechanical labor, the salary should be more in keeping with the quality of the work, Mr. Ochs became very indignant at the idea. "It was all a matter of patriotism," said he.

Mr. Ochs' reluctance to speak of financial matters in the same breath with patriotism *where the workers are concerned* is nothing new in the camp of capitalism. As far as these gentry are concerned, conscripting workers and shedding their blood in defense of the interests of American imperialism is simply a matter of patriotism. On the other hand, any attempt by labor to "take advantage of the country's plight" by raising financial considerations is a perversion of patriotism, and smacks of treason. So, in the name of "patriotism," "National Unity" and "National Defense," the workers are called up to sacrifice their hard-won standards and to rest content with stationary wages even in the face of steadily rising living costs.

CAPITALIST PATRIOTISM—$$$$

But the situation is entirely different when Brother Capital is called upon for "sacrifices" in the name of patriotism, etc. Then he suddenly discovers that he is ardently in favor of 'defense" so long as he does not have to bear the burden of its costs, and

so long as his profits and privileges are not interfered with. Then his patriotism turns to "Pay-triotism" with a capital "Pay."

The case of the aircraft manufacturers is as good an example of capitalist "sacrifice" as any. Having previously been guaranteed profits up to a maximum of 12% on orders for defense purposes, they were suddenly confronted with Congressional action recently limiting the guaranty to a mere 8%. Now, to ordinary mortals who do not understand the pains and sacrifices which the airplane makers are suffering in their zeal to defend America, a guaranteed profit of 8% on "take," particularly in view of the tremendous war orders would appear to be quite a hefty increase in business which accompanies it. But not to the poor persecuted capitalists! These doughty patriots who scream to high heaven in protest against the slightest move of workers to protect their standards against encroachments, could not see the 8% limitation with a telescope.

Immediately upon the passage of the measure, they went into action. The West Coast aircraft manufacturers immediately despatched a letter to William S. Knudsen, in charge of Manufacturing under the President's National Defense Commission, baldly threatening that unless the 8% profit limitation was removed, they would be constrained "to co-operate less heartily with the government." Then they proceeded to organize a boycott against the government, refusing to accept any more orders for aircraft. The East Coast producers announced their solidarity with their western rivals. At the same time, the Board of Directors of the Packard Company refused to accept a government order for the manufacture of 9,000 Rolls Royce engines for the British and American air forces, which Henry Ford had also turned down previously.

How did the apologists for capitalism react to this challenge from within?

Before we answer, let us recall the strike of the shipbuilding workers at Kearny, N. J., against the Federal Shipbuilding Corporation, U. S. Steel subsidiary, a few months ago. The newspapers featured this short-lived strike in the most sensational manner, denouncing it as a Fifth Column attempt to sabotage the vital "Defense" program. On the floors of Congress the strikers were denounced as enemies of their country and branded as traitors. Immediately the Federal government intervened and strong pressure was brought to break the strike. Within a few days, bowing to the torrents of abuse and denunciation, the bewildered strikers were herded back to work.

And what was the crime of the Kearny workers? They had the temerity to ask for a 10c per hour increase (totaling $4.00 for a full 40 hour week) to equalize their wages with prevailing rates for similar work in the same region, and to compensate in part for the rising cost of living! These puny demands contrasted with the 20% increase which their employer, the Federal Shipbuilding Corporation, had been granted by the government in the price of the ships it was constructing; an increase that meant many millions of dollars increased profits as more and more ships were turned out.

CAPITAL ON STRIKE

Now to return to the "strike" of the aircraft manufacturers. Here, strange to relate, the newspapers attempted, with few exceptions, to hush up the entire matter. There were no flaming headlines denouncing these reactionary "strikers" as Fifth Columnists, sabotaging vital national defense preparations. The "patriots" in Congress who had roundly denounced the Kearny shipworkers as traitors because they had dared to ask their employer to disgorge a tiny part of its swollen war profits, were strangely silent. Certainly the administration showed no disposition to crack down on these capitalist "saboteurs."

SWEET "PAY"-TRIOTISM

Faced with such a high-powered revolt on the part of those whose money and power keeps them in office, the administration was compelled to back water and to accept the demands of the aircraft makers. On July 11th the White House announced that an agreement had been reached. The government agreed to the elimination of the obnoxious 8% limitation clause and granted the armament interests the tax concessions they desired. The war industries will now be allowed to set up a five year amortization period over which they will be permitted to write off their additional investments for war production, instead of being compelled to depreciate them at standard rates which ordinarily run from 15 to 25 years. In addition, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation will ad-

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vance substantial sums to finance the expansion of existing plants for armament purposes.

The first to profit by the new arrangement will be the Packard Company, which reconsidered its original refusal to produce the Rolls Royce engines. Packard will receive a $30,000,000 loan to finance the plant expansion necessary to proceed with war orders and will be relieved of the 8% profit limitation. *Ah, sweet patriotism, how profitable you can be!*

The actions of the capitalist class in putting their sacred profits above the requirements of their own National Defense should open the eyes of those workers who have permitted themselves to forget that their most dangerous enemy is at home, in the camp of American capitalist imperialism. In the mouths of the exploiters "patriotism" is but another article of commerce!

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(*Continued from Page 2*)

THE COLLAPSE OF FRENCH "DEMOCRACY"

the abject request for an armistice followed in quick order.

FEARED WAR FROM FIRST

The fact of the matter is that from the very beginning the upper bourgeoisie which rules France had no stomach for the war. They feared that any war, even if it resulted in the defeat of the enemy, would bring social revolution in its wake. The fear and hatred of the French workers caused capitalism to seek any compromise, no matter how shameful, rather than permit the proletariat to come to power. That is why the spirit of defeatism pervaded the ruling class. As Edgar Ansel Mowrer, *Chicago Daily News* foreign correspondent, writes:

"The Popular Front economic failure and the hatred it aroused in the propertied classes actually reached the point where one heard a preference for 'Hitler in Paris rather than Leon Blum in the premier's office.' This is a wish that has now been fulfilled. . . .

". . . This correspondent was often surprised at officers' outspoken hatred of French democratic institutions. . . .

"Finally, it must be said that certain richer Frenchmen, influenced by German propaganda, feared victory in this war almost more than defeat, as likelier to bring 'revolution', an elastic but fear-inspiring term, that in their minds meant anything from paid vacations for employees to tumbrils and the guillotine for the rich.

"Just two days before France declared war, Jacques Chastenay, co-editor of the *Paris Temps*, owned by the steel trust, explained to me how France ought to yield Poland and nearly anything else to Hitler rather than 'risk revolution'."

"CONJURING REVOLUTION"

And in another cable on July 6th, Mowrer, in further elaboration of the reasons for the surrender, revealed that "Moreover, the fear of revolution that has long haunted many rich Frenchmen could be conjured by submission to Germany, for then German machine guns would perhaps aid in shooting down French workmen who dared revolt. It is notable that under the armistice, one thing that the French obtained was the right to keep in unoccupied France a sufficient military force to 'keep order'."

Here we have the true measure of capitalist regard for their own slogans of "Patriotism" and "National Defense"; for the owners of industry these battlecries are only calls for the preservation of their own power at all costs, even to calling in Hitler to protect them!

(*To be concluded*)

C O M I N G

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